

Message Text

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FOR HIRSCH

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM TEL AVIV DATED MAY 16, 1977 SENT
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SUBJECT: CABINET DISCUSSES U.S./ISRAELI RELATIONS

BEGIN SUMMARY: ALLON REPORTED TO THE CABINET ON MAY 15
ON HIS DISCUSSIONS IN LONDON WITH THE SECRETARY AND,
ALTHOUGH HIS REPORT WAS MIXED WITH COMMENT ABOUT THE
ARMS TRANSFER FUROR AND THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO
SENATOR HUMPHREY, HE EXPRESSED HIS SATISFACTION WITH
THE STATE OF U.S./ISRAELI RELATIONS. THE CABINET
COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO THE U.S. COMMITMENT ON DEFENSE
ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO SAID THE
SECRETARY PROMISED A SOLUTION WOULD NOT BE
IMPOSED IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ALTHOUGH THE U.S.
RESERVES THE RIGHT TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS, AND PROMISED

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NO RECOGNITION OF THE PLO. ALLON ADMITTED NO
AGREEMENT HAS BEEN WORKED OUT WITH THE U.S. ON
BORDERS OR PALESTINIANS. PERES ALSO REPORTED TO
THE CABINET ON THESE SUBJECTS AND REFERRED TO
THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE
OF SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL. EDITORIAL COMMENT IS
GENERALLY FAVORABLE BUT SOME DIFFICULTIES ARE
FORESEEN. END SUMMARY

1. AT THE REGULAR CABINET MEETING ON MAY 15 FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON REPORTED TO HIS COLLEAGUES ON THIS LONDON DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECRETARY. THE CABINET COMMUNIQUE REPORTING ON ALLON'S REMARKS INDICATES THAT HE ALSO INCLUDED COMMENT ABOUT THE RECENT DISTINCTION ALLEGEDLY MADE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND CERTAIN U.S. ALLIES FOR ARMS TRANSFER PURPOSES:

2. "THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS REVIEWED HIS TALKS IN LONDON WITH THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE. MINISTER ALLON REFERRED TO U.S. PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER TO SENATOR HUMPHREY ON THE SUBJECT OF U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONS IN THE AREAS OF DEFENSE ACQUISITIONS, JOINT PRODUCTION IN THE DEFENSE SPHERE AND PROVISION OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGICAL INFORMATION IN THE DEFENSE SPHERE--AS WELL AS TO SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE'S PUBLIC STATEMENT IN LONDON ON THESE ISSUES. THE FOREIGN MINISTER DETERMINED THAT THE LETTER AND THE STATEMENT REPRESENTED A RENEWED AND IMPORTANT AMERICAN COMMITMENT IN THE SPHERES OF AMERICAN DEFENSE AID TO ISRAEL. THE NEW COMMITMENT IS OF BOTH FUNDAMENTAL AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE--ITS VALUE AND CONTENT BEING NO LESS THAN THE COMMITMENT WHICH THE U.S. UNDERTOOK IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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AGREEMENT-OF-UNDERSTANDING SIGNED BETWEEN BOTH COUNTRIES AT THE TIME OF CONCLUSION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT.

3. "WHILE NOT EXCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BETWEEN BOTH GOVERNMENTS REGARDING ONE OR ANOTHER ITEM IN THE SPHERES OF DEFENSE AID TO ISRAEL, THE FOREIGN MINISTER REMARKED THAT ISRAEL WAS PERFECTLY ENTITLED TO BE SATISFIED WITH THE RECENT DAYS' DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SUBJECT--SINCE PUBLICATION OF THE ISSUE OF THE CLASSIFICATION-DRAFT IN THE SPHERE OF OVERALL POLICY CONCERNING AMERICAN DEFENSE AID TO VARIOUS STATES."

4. ALLON THEN REPORTED TO HIS COLLEAGUES HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECRETARY REGARDING PROGRESS TOWARD MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS. ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE HE SAID: "WITH REGARD TO CONTINUATION OF THE PROCESSES FOR THE PROMOTION OF PEACE IN THE REGION, THE SECRETARY

OF STATE HAD REITERATED AND STIPULATED THAT THE U.S. HAD NO INTENTION OF IMPOSING A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT OR OF PUBLISHING A DETAILED AMERICAN PLAN FOR A SOLUTION. AT THE SAME TIME, THE U.S. RESERVED THE RIGHT TO SUBMIT TO THE PARTIES-- AT MORE ADVANCED STAGES OF NEGOTIATION--THOUGHTS AND PROPOSALS WHOSE AIM WOULD BE TO ATTEMPT TO BRIDGE BETWEEN THE PARTIES' POSITIONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

5. "THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE U.S. STAND FAVORING THE NEED FOR AN EXACT AND FAR-REACHING DEFINITION OF THE NATURE OF PEACE AS A KEY FOR PROGRESS IN SETTLING THE CONFLICT. THERE HAS
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ALSO BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE U.S. STAND REJECTING PLO REPRESENTATION AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AS LONG AS THAT ORGANIZATION DOES NOT RECOGNIZE ISRAEL AS WELL AS RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. IN THIS CONNECTION THE FOREIGN MINISTER CITED RECENT STATEMENTS BY ACCREDITED PLO SPOKESMEN, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PLO ADHERES TO ITS FUNDAMENTAL STAND REJECTING RECOGNITION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242."

6. ALLON ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT FINAL AGREEMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND

ISRAEL ON THE SUBJECT OF DEFENSIBLE BORDERS AND ON THE POSSIBLE ESTABLISHMENT OF A THIRD INDEPENDENT STATE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN. THE COMMUNIQUE CONTINUES: "ON THE SUBJECT OF DEFENSIBLE BORDERS FOR ISRAEL, THERE WAS AS YET NO UNANIMITY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE U.S. THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD MADE MOST EMPHATICALLY CLEAR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE THE VITALNESS OF DEFENSIBLE BORDERS CONGRUENT WITH THE POLITICAL BORDERS, AND THAT ELECTRONIC WARNING MEASURES AND OTHER SUCH SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE USEFUL AS SUPPLEMENTARY TO POLITICAL BORDERS OF STRATEGIC VALUE TO ISRAEL--BUT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES COULD THEY SERVE AS A SUBSTITUTE TO OR IN PLACE OF DEFENSIBLE BORDERS FOR ISRAEL.

7. "CONCERNING THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, IT EMERGED THAT THE U.S. HAS NOT YET DEFINED FOR ITSELF IN EXACTITUDE THE VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES FOR SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION. THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD ONCE AGAIN MADE CLEAR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE ISRAEL'S OPPOSITION TO ESTABLISHMENT OF A

THIRD STATE BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE STATE OF
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ISRAEL, AND DETAILED THE DANGERS LIABLE TO
ACCRUE BOTH TO ISRAEL AND TO THE STABILITY OF
OTHER STATES IN THE REGION AS A RESULT OF
ESTABLISHMENT OF AN IRREDENTIST STATE LED BY
THE PLO. THE FOREIGN MINISTER WARNED OF
EXPECTATIONS THAT WOULD BE CREATED IN THE ARAB
STATES THROUGH EMPLOYMENT OF THE CONCEPT
'HOMELAND.'"

8. ACTING PRIME MINISTER PERES TOUCHED ON SOME
OF THE SAME SUBJECTS WHEN HE DISCUSSED WITH THE
CABINET THE RECENT STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH HE NOTED THE
SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL.
PERES ADDED THAT THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON
HAD DRAWN PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO A PASSAGE IN
THE PRESIDENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE: THE COMMUNIQUE
SAID: "MINISTER SHIMON PERES REFERRED TO AN
EXCERPT FROM PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENTS AT
THE PRESS CONFERENCE HELD UPON THE PRESIDENT'S
RETURN FROM LONDON TO THE U.S. AS FOLLOWS: 'WE
MAINTAIN SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. DECISIVE
IMPORTANCE ATTACHES TO NOT A SINGLE PERSON IN
THIS COUNTRY OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD EVER
DOUBTING THAT OUR NUMBER ONE COMMITMENT IN THE
MIDDLE EAST IS TO DEFEND ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST,
TO EXIST FOREVER AND TO EXIST IN PEACE. WE HAVE
SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.'

9. "MINISTER PERES ADDED THAT A VERBAL MESSAGE
HAD BEEN RECEIVED AT THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN
WASHINGTON FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, IN WHICH THE
ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S ATTENTION WAS DRAWN TO
THE ABOVE EXCERPT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS
AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE. THE MESSAGE STATED
THAT THIS PRONOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE VIEWED AS A
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SIGNIFICANT AND WEIGHTY DECLARATION OF POLICY
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

10. EDITORIAL COMMENT ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS
IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL EXPRESSES
ALMOST UNIFORM RELIEF THAT NO PERMANENT
DAMAGE HAS BEEN DONE TO THOSE RELATIONS BUT THAT

LESSONS FROM LAST WEEK'S EVENTS MUST BE NOTED.
FOR EXAMPLE, MAARIV OF MAY 15 NOTED THREE LESSONS
TO BE LEARNED FROM THE ARMS TRANSFER AFFAIRS:
FIRST, PRESIDENT CARTER IS NOT AN ABSOLUTE
RULER AND RECOGNIZES LIMITATIONS TO HIS
POWER. SECOND, THERE IS NOT COMPLETE
IDENTIFICATION BY THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES
ARE THE VIEW OF HIS PARTY, CONGRESS AND
SENATORS. THIRD, ISRAEL'S FRIENDS ARE STILL
READY AND ABLE TO EHLP ISRAEL WHE REQUIRED.

11. SIMILARLY, DAVAR OF MAY 15 DREW TWO
CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE WEEK: FIRST, IT ELIMINATES THE
CONCERN IN JERUSALEM THAT A LIST OF PREFERABLE
COUNTRIES FOR ARMS TRANSFER PURPOSES DID NOT
INCLUDE ISRAEL. SECOND, IT SHOWS THAT NO
EROSION HAS OCCURRED IN THE FEELINGS OF THE
CONGRESS TOWARD ISRAEL. A LESSON STILL IS TO
BE LEARNED,SAYS DAVAR; "YET, IN THE OPINION
OF SENATOR RICHARD STONE, THE HEAD OF THE
SUBCOMMITTEE FOR MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS AND A
DEFINITE FRIEND OF ISRAEL, GUARANTEEING ISRAEL'S
DETERRENT POWER IS A PRIMARY CONDITION FOR
GETTING ISRAEL TO BE PREPARED FOR SIGNIFICANT
POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS IN THE
FRAMEWORK OF THE EFFORTS AIMED AT A SETTLEMENT."

12. THE JERUSALEM POST ALSO SEES A LESSON TO
BE LEARNED BY ISRAEL EVEN THOUGH THE OUTCOME OF
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LAST WEEK'S FUROR WAS FAVORABLE: "MR. CARTER'S
STATEMENT AND LETTER RESTORE THE BALANCE IN
THIS FIELD. BUT THEY MUST BE SEEN AS PART OF
A PROCESS WHEREBY ISRAEL MUST CONTINUOUSLY
EXPLAIN AND SEEK TO PERSUADE FOR FULLER POLICY
COORDINATION WITH THE U.S."

13. COMMENT: THE SATISFACTION AT THE OUTCOME
OF LAST WEEK'S DEBATE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF
U.S. ARMS ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL WOULD PROBABLY
HAVE BEEN EXPRSED PUBLICLY BY ISRAEL'S LEADERS
IN ANY CASE. NEVERTHELSS, THERE IS A
SPECIAL STRESS ON THESE ELEMNTS AS THE
ELECTION ENTERED ITS FINAL TWO DAYS.
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